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Comment

EUROPEAN SUPREMACY?

THE Conference on Central African Federation is now in full swing. No Africans have attended—thus leaving the British Government in no doubt that it persists in this scheme entirely without African support. The two African members of the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council are in London to discuss only the Northern Rhodesian constitution; Mr. Nkomo, who attended last year's conference with the Southern Rhodesian delegation, has come again unofficially to express opposition; a deputation of Nyasaland chiefs has spoken in no uncertain terms:—

'We have confidence in the British people but not in the present Government. If the British people want to federate our country they can do so. They are a powerful people. They have all weapons at their disposal. They can come home and kill every child, man, and woman and then they can federate our country.*

Meanwhile the conference, meeting behind closed doors, appears to be altering the Draft Scheme in favour of European interests. The proposed African Affairs Board is to be put inside the Federal Parliament—probably as a Select Committee—instead of being an independent body. Since the Federal Parliament is to be overwhelmingly European, it is small wonder that the change has been welcomed in Southern Rhodesia, whose European population is apparently to be offered every enticement to persuade it to accept Federation at all. Evidently Mr. Lyttelton is willing to abandon even the pretence that the British Government is trying to safeguard African interests. Does he at the same time expect to get Labour support for the imposition of this disgraceful scheme on an unwilling African population?

The whole manœuvre is accompanied by specious promises of inter-racial partnership. If these mean anything, the British Government and the Northern Rhodesian Europeans have an opportunity to prove their sincerity in the concurrent negotiations on the Northern Rhodesian constitution. Mr. Welensky's hint that he is dissatisfied with the present position in the Executive Council may foreshadow a demand for full ministerial status. It ought to be made clear that there can be no Ministers until the elected members of Executive Council are responsible to the legislature as a whole, and not—as at present—to the Governor and the European Elected Members only. If any change is to be made in the Executive Council, it should be to bring Northern Rhodesia into line with the East African territories by appointing an African to sit on it. For their part, the Africans are asking for an increase in their representation in the Legislative Council. At present, there are ten European Elected Members, two Europeans nominated to represent African interests, and two Africans chosen by the African Representative Council. The A.R.C. has asked for ten African members—a reasonable demand which would enable each one to be properly responsible for a constituency. If the European members accept this without at the same time demanding an increase in their own swollen representation, this would give the new Legislative Council which is to be elected this year the chance of considering any further constitutional changes in the atmosphere of partnership to which the Northern Rhodesian Government is committed. If a satisfactory settlement is not reached, and an attempt is made to impose Federation, there seems little likelihood of a hopeful future for any race in Central Africa.

It need hardly be added that the same considerations apply to the demands of the Kenya Europeans for greater freedom from Colonial Office control. In these key territories the question of European supremacy or inter-racial co-operation is being posed in the sharpest form. It is a tragedy that the

* Chief Maganga, reported in *Manchester Guardian*, 9.1.1953.

answer will be given with a Conservative Government in power.

THE SUDAN NEGOTIATIONS

THE Sudan negotiations have inevitably arrived at a major stumbling block in discussion of the position of the Southern Sudan. The Sudanese political parties, the Egyptian Government and the Sudan Government are all agreed that the South should be guaranteed fair representation in the Legislature and in the Cabinet. The bone of contention is the inclusion in the draft constitution agreed to by the Legislative Assembly of the provision that the Governor-General should, in the interim period before self-determination, exercise a special responsibility for the South. The discussion is following the classic course in its concentration on powers which, in practice, could hardly be used. It is almost inconceivable that a Governor-General working with a responsible Ministry containing two members from the South would ever need to exercise such powers unless his Cabinet had previously fallen to pieces. On the other hand, their mere existence is regarded by some Southerners as a protection against possible domination by the more advanced North. The Northern Sudanese leaders are naturally sensitive on such a point, and their doubts are upheld by the Egyptians. It was unfortunate that the recent visits to the South of a party of Northern Sudanese journalists and of an Egyptian representative should have become subjects of controversy, while a projected visit of Northern politicians failed to materialise. There were suspicions that Southern views—expressed, as is always the case in the early stages of colonial political development, by an educated minority of whom many are in Government service—were influenced by official pressure. On the other side, some Southerners have resented the absence of Southern spokesmen from the Cairo conversations. Some have gone so far as to suggest that there can be no agreement between South and North before they are on the same level culturally, economically, and socially. Progress towards self-government in the Sudan has gone far too far for this claim to be admissible, and it has to be recognised that if even the Sudanese Legislative Assembly's own constitution were put into operation the South would have to rely not on constitutional safeguards but on the progress that has been made by its people in local government and in general development in the last few years. The Sudan Government has legitimate cause for anxiety since none of the Sudanese political parties is firmly based in the South, none has any constructive programme for the South, and only in the life of the last Legislative Assembly have politicians from

both areas come together. But the whole policy of self-government makes nonsense if it is felt that the more advanced North will tyrannise the South—and it is too late to go back on this policy now, even if the British Government desired to do so.

On the other hand, there is room for a greater display of confidence by the Sudanese leaders and the Egyptians. Some of the other amendments to the constitution proposed by them would be at the best difficult to operate. A supervising commission of two Sudanese, one Egyptian, one British and one Indian or Pakistani to 'watch' the Governor-General should prove to be superfluous, while the new Sudanese Government which will be constitutionally responsible for administration may itself come to regret the decision that

'when the Sudanese Parliament fixes the date for self-determination within a maximum period of three years, all remaining British and Egyptian staff shall be substituted by other neutral elements to be nominated by the Sudan Government'

if sufficient Sudanese are not available. Fortunately, owing to the training policy pursued by the Government since 1935, the Sudan has a better corps of local officials than any other territory in Africa, so the number of 'neutrals' should in any case be small.

These protracted discussions should not obscure the great advances that have already been made. All sides—the British Government, the Egyptian Government, and the Sudanese leaders—have made obvious and substantial concessions to reach agreement. A few weeks more of negotiations will do no harm if they lead to a better understanding and if patience can be maintained all round. It is no small achievement that the Sudan should have reached a point at which such discussions can take place, considering the conditions in which the Condominium was established in 1898.

PROBLEMS OF CO-OPERATIVES

WE are glad to publish this month an article and a letter on co-operatives in the Colonies, and we hope that readers with views on this subject will continue the discussion initiated by Miss Margaret Digby in our November issue. The figures that we published in December showed how great had been the expansion in co-operative societies since 1945, an expansion due in great part to the constructive assistance given by colonial government departments following the Labour Government's circular despatch of 1946. But as co-operatives grow many problems emerge. How far is Government assistance a good thing? Do the Ordinances under which it is given provide too tight a control of voluntary societies? This question has been raised by the changes now being made in the Uganda Ordinance. These do not

appear to be very radical, but in fact will make the exercise of control more difficult. But by giving co-operative societies representation on a Co-operative Development Council which may, amongst other duties, consider appeals by societies from a refusal to grant registration, and by defining more closely the conditions under which a society may be de-registered, Uganda may remove some of the resentment previously aroused by the enforcement of control. As movements mature, control itself lessens—in some Colonies, unions of co-operative societies are already assuming responsibility for auditing accounts from the Registrar. This development depends on the willingness and capacity of members to control their officers, both of which are difficult to achieve in territories where widespread illiteracy give such opportunities for irresponsibility and racketeering to the educated few. There are problems of organisation arising where European and non-European co-operatives exist side by side, as in East Africa. Would joint organisation improve the position of both? Would it be acceptable to Europeans (particularly if an export crop requiring high standards of quality is involved)? Would Africans agree to it? How do co-operative marketing societies fit into the pattern of Government-controlled marketing boards? How can retail societies establish themselves against the competition of multitudes of petty traders and highly-developed commercial firms? How much scope is there for new types of co-operatives, as suggested by those who advocate co-operative farming in Kenya? Do the people concerned want them, what difficulties will they meet in practice, and what help can they be given? We pose the questions without answering them because we know that there are no easy answers. They must be found in discussion amongst co-operators themselves.

A FOUNDER-MEMBER

WITH the death of Sir Drummond Shiels, one more gap is made in the ranks of that older generation who first began the serious study of colonial affairs from the socialist point of view. When the Fabian Colonial Bureau was founded in 1940, its advisory committee, under the chairmanship of Arthur Creech Jones, gathered together a number of these stalwarts—H. N. Brailsford, Leonard Woolf, Leonard Barnes, Frank Horrabin, Professor W. M. MacMillan and Sir Drummond himself. They had all thought deeply on the subject; some had written outstanding books; others had had experience in the field; all were united in a thorough dislike of the colonial system as it was at that time—before the existence of such present-day commonplaces as Colonial Develop-

ment and Welfare Acts, colonial cabinet ministers, elected Africans on legislative councils, colonial trade unions, universal suffrage and the rest. In the many discussions that followed, when the Bureau was groping its way towards proposals to fill the vacuum which then surrounded colonial policy, Sir Drummond had a curiously distinctive contribution to make. On the one hand he was an uncompromising realist. He had no time for 'airy-fairy' talk, which seemed to him quite unrelated to the practicalities of a situation. On the other hand, he could be intensely idealistic about certain things. One of these was the virtue of universal suffrage, particularly of votes for women. He never tired of telling of the battle he put up for this principle when he was a member of the 1927 Royal Commission on Constitutional Reform in Ceylon. That was the experience which mattered to him most—at least so far as his work on colonial affairs was concerned. Largely owing to him, universal suffrage was implemented in Ceylon—for the first time in any British Colony of non-white race. It more than justified itself, and was the forerunner of universal suffrage in many other Colonies. But when the Bureau started work, it existed only in Ceylon. Sir Drummond liked to tell also how, when he was Parliamentary Secretary to the Colonial Office in the 1929 Labour Government, it was almost unheard of—except on very special occasions—for people from the Colonies to be accepted there in audience, and how he fought for their acceptance—a fact which seems almost incredible to-day. One remembers how, with such achievements to his record, he was deeply hurt, when in a heated committee controversy in which the realist in him was uppermost, another member of the committee accused him of putting up an umbrella to stop a flood! The British Labour movement is compounded of just such realism and idealism, of hard commonsense and an endearing sentimentality. All of these qualities were blended in Sir Drummond Shiels's own shrewd and kindly personality.

LUNCH MEETING in the HOUSE OF COMMONS

Friday, 20th February, 1953 at 12.45 p.m.

HOST: JOHN PARKER, M.P.
GUEST: EIRENE WHITE, M.P.

(Mrs. White will speak on West Africa following her tour.)

Tickets 5/6.

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CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENTS IN THE COLONIES

by W. P. Watkins

TOO many Socialists know too little about colonial co-operative movements. Too many of them do not appear to know that the Model Co-operative Ordinance, circulated with a directive, politely couched as a suggestion, by a Labour Colonial Secretary in 1946, will rank in history as the charter of colonial co-operatives. It is regrettable that neither the reasons for this action nor its results appear to be appreciated by many Labour politicians. This ignorance, if not exactly culpable, does them no credit. Nor is any credit due to those who, while aware of what the Colonial Office and colonial governments are trying to do to promote and encourage the development of co-operatives, disparage their achievements and condemn their methods—mostly without having studied the evidence.

The Ordinance, however, was not the starting point, but a milestone on the way. Following the example of India, successful attempts have been made to foster co-operative enterprise in certain British Colonies for over forty years. A considerable body of experience, both of what to attempt and what to avoid, has been accumulated. Although a certain amount of trial and error is involved in every co-operative enterprise, there is no need to-day for the most unusual co-operative venture in the remotest Colonial territory to be launched without competent advice and guidance or reference to what has already been achieved elsewhere. A corps of competent officers—primarily European, but with a steadily growing proportion of non-European—has been trained, and some radical improvements have been made in the economic circumstances and outlook of people hitherto regarded as backward and primitive. None of these things is as large, widespread or influential as it ought or needs to be to play its proper part in the evolution of the Colonies towards democratic self-government, but to treat them as non-existent is both unfair and unwise.

It is equally unjustifiable to assume that colonial co-operative movements should arise in the same way or develop the same types of undertaking as the British. The co-operative movement originated and grew up in Great Britain in an age of *laissez faire*, with the barest minimum of government countenance and aid. In the Colonies, almost without exception, the common people, whether cultivators or artisans, might never have discovered co-operation in generations, but for government initiative, propaganda and teaching. Allowance must be made for these differences.

Again, those of us who sat at the feet of Sidney and Beatrice Webb may be prone to assume that the only genuine or permanently valuable form of co-operation is the consumers' society. That is in any case a very doubtful proposition; in a colonial environment it is sheer nonsense. The typical British co-operative—the store or consumers' society—was developed as a solution to the problem of converting

money wages into the largest possible real income. *But suppose your problem is to get a money income at all, to keep for yourself the price of your produce instead of surrendering most of it to some middleman or usurer? Suppose you are living at such a bare subsistence level that the very notion of thrift in the form of saving money is absolutely new and revolutionary? Then you will need to join with your neighbours in other and simpler forms of co-operation—such as thrift and credit societies, sale in common of produce, joint purchase of tools, combined work on well-digging and drainage—and only tackle storekeeping when you have learnt what it means—and takes—to keep proper accounts, and to choose the right men to manage the common enterprise.*

The Substance of Democracy

While the colonial governments acknowledge, and in many ways discharge their responsibility for the welfare of their people, there is still plenty of room left for the people themselves, through free association, to defend and advance their own well-being. Indeed, if there is to be any true growth of democracy in the Colonies, there must exist, alongside of and marching parallel to parliamentary government and the extension of the franchise, free social movements like co-operation, trade unionism and adult education which are also democratic in their inspiration. Here in Great Britain, if the constitution gives our democracy its form, it is the free movements which give it its substance and its life. Should we expect anything different in Africa or Asia? Or, putting the issue conversely, does not every step forward in purely political democracy entail increasing risks, in so far as it is not complemented and supported by free economic and social movements also based on democratic principles?

Now if co-operative movements are necessary and desirable in the Colonies on economic, democratic and educational grounds, the question arises whether the colonial Government, through its Co-operative Department, manned by the Registrar and his staff of officers, inspectors and auditors, is the best agency for promoting them. The Registrar is, of course, responsible for much more than the scrutiny of rules and the collection of statistics. He actively promotes co-operative societies and often has power to dissolve them on grounds of business failures, malpractice or persistent violation of elementary co-operative principles. In so far as his promotional and educational work are well done, the Registrar does not need to exercise these drastic powers, and as the people advance in political self-government his functions tend to become steadily less executive and more advisory, as for example in the Gold Coast. But in any case until the co-operative societies have reached the stage of setting up their own unions and federations the Co-operative Department remains the chief,

if not the only, repository of the co-operative knowledge and experience of the territory, as well as the best guarantee that co-operative principles will be faithfully observed. It by no means follows, however, that co-operative organisations should always remain in government tutelage.

Indeed, if the aim is a co-operative movement capable of steering its own course in the light of its own principles, the time must come, and must perhaps be hastened, when responsibilities of promotion, supervision and control, now shouldered by the Registrar, will be transferred to co-operative unions. The movement must be progressively 'de-officialised,' as the Indians say. The Registrar's is ultimately a self-extinguishing job, although the time for that is not yet.

Admittedly, the colonial governments, as promotion agencies, labour under two disadvantages. The first is common to all governments. Their attitude is bound to be paternal and may easily become too protective, and so hinder young organisations from learning responsibility through making their own decisions and abiding the consequences. Granted that the young organisations are often over-confident and may make fatal mistakes, progress demands a policy of taking reasonable risks rather than avoiding them.

The second disadvantage is that colonial government at best is alien rule, and its good intentions tend to become suspect to some of the most intelligent and politically advanced amongst the population. To appreciate this it is only necessary to compare the attitude of the dominant political parties to the co-operative movements of India, Ceylon and Burma before and after these countries' political emancipation. Nevertheless, the cause of national liberation is not really furthered by standing aloof from co-operation, and it is an ill service to any Colony to encourage its native political leaders to do so, or to try to run dissident co-operative movements outside the framework of the Co-operative Ordinance, or to boycott a Registrar who has often trouble enough to make his own administrative chiefs realise the importance of what he is trying to do support him as they should.

British Movement's Part

The soundest method of propagating co-operation is for the co-operative movements of the metropolitan country to take an intelligent interest in colonial co-operative development as it now is. The British co-operative movement has for some years been making a useful contribution through the training course for colonial officers arranged in collaboration with the Colonial Office at the Co-operative College at Loughborough, as well as through the trained British co-operators it has supplied to co-operative departments in the Colonies.

More expert guidance is needed, particularly in the field, as the movements in the various territories emerge from the stage of local organisation and form federations for credit, marketing or wholesale trade. It is these federations which are able, apart from their

functions within the territory, to forge permanent links with the external co-operative world through membership of the International Co-operative Alliance. The Jamaica Co-operative Union was affiliated to the Alliance in 1951, and it should be the forerunner of many.

To conclude, although government action in support of Co-operation is and must for some time to come be indispensable in many colonial territories, it would be calamitous if the people came to regard Co-operation as something administered to them by Government. Co-operation, rightly conceived, is a world-wide movement of mutual aid in which all the races of men can participate, and its principles of economy, democracy and social justice make it one of the best instruments for assisting backward peoples through their transition into the modern world, and educating them to become the architects of their own liberties. For these reasons Co-operators and Socialists at home ought to encourage and support the Co-operative movement in the Colonies, and they must do so without barracking the Registrars! Rather must they supplement the Registrar's efforts by placing their knowledge of co-operative technique at the disposal of organisations still in their infancy, by sending experts to demonstrate and impart their know-how, by supplying pieces of equipment through the Unesco Gift Coupon Scheme or direct financial aid, and by taking such an intelligent and sympathetic interest that Asian, African, West Indian co-operators will acquire the sense of comradeship in a movement, in harmony with their national aspirations, which opens an avenue to a wider world.

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AGRICULTURAL MARKETING FUNDS

Discussion on the operation of agricultural marketing funds in the Colonies still continues. In West Africa, where the marketing of all the principal export crops is in the hands of statutory boards, there has been considerable controversy over the large funds which have accumulated as a result of the high prices obtained for the crops on the world market. As these prices are falling, and the Boards are now in many cases paying the farmers more for their crops than the Boards are themselves receiving, the purpose and value of the stabilisation funds are being more widely appreciated. The West African Boards, especially in Nigeria, have recently taken special care to publicise and explain their activities and policies. Other points of controversy arise on such questions as the composition and accountability of the Boards. These are of particular importance in East and Central Africa, where political institutions and farmers' voluntary organisations are in many cases less highly-developed amongst Africans than in West Africa, while at the same time efficient organisations have been built up by European farmers. The following answers to questions tabled by Members of Parliament throw some light on the problems arising in the working of betterment and marketing funds.

1. Stabilisation Funds and their Size:—

Mr. Beswick asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies to give a list of all commodity price stabilisation funds now operating in colonial territories and the reserve funds now standing to the credit of each fund. Mr. Lyttelton replied (December 11, 1952) that the following was the latest available information about the principal funds:—

WEST AFRICA. The Marketing Boards hold general reserve funds as under, part of which is available for price stabilisation:—

| Board | Date | General Reserves £ | Remarks |
|--|------------|--------------------|---|
| Gold Coast Cocoa Marketing Board | 30. 9.1951 | 71,317,886 | £51 million is specifically allocated for price stabilisation. |
| Gold Coast Produce Marketing Board (various produce) | 31.12.1951 | 334,226 | |
| Nigeria Cocoa Marketing Board ... | 30. 9.1951 | 33,001,420 | 70 per cent. of these reserves are held available for price stabilisation without prejudice to the actual size of stabilisation reserves which may prove necessary. |
| Nigeria Groundnut Marketing Board | 31.10.1951 | 12,366,833 | |
| Nigeria Oil Palm Marketing Board ... | 31.12.1951 | 21,638,740 | |
| Nigeria Cotton Marketing Board ... | 31.10.1951 | 3,243,909 | — |
| Gambia Oilseeds Marketing Board ... | 30. 9.1951 | 2,484,097 | — |
| Sierra Leone Produce Marketing Board (various produce) | 31.12.1951 | 4,605,982 | Separate stabilisation funds are maintained for each commodity. |

Fuller details of these funds are available in the Board's annual reports.

UGANDA. The Cotton Price Assistance Fund, operated by the Lint Marketing Board, now stands at its statutory limit of £20 million.

MAURITIUS, FIJI, BRITISH GUIANA, JAMAICA, TRINIDAD, ST. LUCIA, ST. VINCENT, ANTIGUA, BARBADOS. These territories maintain sugar Price Stabilisation Funds which collectively totalled over £5 million at the end of 1951. There are also a number of smaller stabilisation funds and other reserve funds available for stabilisation in other territories.

2. *The use of funds surplus to price-stabilisation requirements.*

The West African Marketing Boards themselves determine the use of their surplus funds, most of which are used for research and for development projects, the latter being paid over to development committees controlled by the legislatures. The issue has arisen also in Uganda:

Uganda Cotton Price Stabilisation Fund. In reply to a question by Mr. Beswick, Mr. Lyttelton said that this fund was administered by the Uganda Government and, by resolution of the Legislative Council, was closed in 1951 at a total of £20m. The balance of approximately £5m. was credited to the African Development Fund, for the use of which a Select Committee of the Legislative Council has recommended the following allocations:—

| | £ |
|--|-----------|
| Acquisition of Gineries | 1,000,000 |
| Special Scholarship Funds | 200,000 |
| Development of Technical Training | 2,000,000 |
| Community Development | 500,000 |
| Local Government and Community Development Training Centre ... | 350,000 |
| Commercial College | 8,000 |
| Loan to Nakivubo Sports Grounds | 61,000 |
| Expansion of Primary Teacher Training | 152,030 |

Approximately £725,000 remained to be allocated. (December 10.)

Allocation of Uganda Cotton Price Fund. Mr. Beswick asked the Secretary of State what proportion of the £2m. allocated from the Uganda Cotton Price Assistance Fund for technical training was available to farmers and farmers' organisations for training in essential accountancy and the presentation of accounts. Mr. Lyttelton replied that this money was intended primarily to be used for the training of artisans and craftsmen, and he knew of no allocation for the purposes mentioned above. However, £8,000 had been granted to the Mulibhai Madhvani Commercial College where courses in accounting procedure were to be provided. Secretaries and other employees of registered co-operative societies were given instruction in book-keeping by the Department of Co-operative Development. (December 17.)

3. *An example of the working of a fund by a Board democratically controlled by well-organised European farmers is provided by the Kenya Coffee Board:*

Kenya Coffee Board. Mrs. White asked the Secretary of State what were the functions and composition of the Kenya Coffee Board; what was its relationship with the Kenya Coffee Marketing Board and by what means each Board was financed. Mr. Lyttelton replied

that the Kenya Coffee Board consisted of the Director of Agriculture, two members appointed by the Governor, one of whom was a member of the Department of Agriculture, and eight coffee planters elected by the planters in the Eastern and Western Electoral Districts. It controlled by licence the growing of coffee outside the native reserves. In native lands the growing of coffee was controlled under the Native Lands Coffee Rules, 1951. The Coffee Board's other functions included the registration of coffee millers, the advertising of Kenya coffee and, with the approval of the Governor-in-Council, the provision of services designed to promote the coffee industry generally.

The Board's operations are financed from the 'coffee levy fund,' which consisted of proceeds from a levy imposed on exports of all coffee except 'buni' (a mainly African crop), fees collected in respect of certain licences and sums voted from time to time by the Legislative Council. The Kenya Coffee Board appointed one member of the Kenya Coffee Marketing Board which was empowered to buy and sell all mild coffee grown in Kenya. The proceeds of sales by the Marketing Board were paid into a 'coffee pool' from which producers were paid for coffee sold to the Board. (December 17.)

4. *Expenditure of Development Funds raised in part from African farmers.*

Expenditure of surplus funds raises special problems where African political institutions are not fully developed. In Nyasaland, African Provincial Councils are not elected on a franchise, and are purely advisory. A recent example of the use of funds partly contributed by farmers to assist in the financing of a Government newspaper raised the issue in a serious form:—

Nyasaland Development and Welfare Fund. Mr. Rankin asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies how much money was voted from the Native Development and Welfare Fund of Nyasaland to finance African Press, Limited; and what consultations had taken place with African producers of tobacco and cotton whose profits contributed to the Native Development and Welfare Fund. Mr. Lyttelton replied that a loan of £50,000 had been approved for this purpose. Consultation had taken place with African Provincial Councils. (October 22.)

Subsequently Mr. Rankin asked what methods had been used by the African Provincial Councils to consult the growers of tobacco and cotton on the use of the Native Development and Welfare Fund. Mr. Lyttelton said that there was no specific relationship between the African Provincial Councils and the producers as such. The Native Development and Welfare Fund Ordinance, 1949, provided that the Governor (a) might make grants to the Treasury of native authorities; (b) might make grants or loans for any purpose intended to promote the welfare or the social or economic benefit of the natives of the Protectorate generally; and (c) might make allocations to Provincial Commissioners to be applied for any purpose intended to promote the welfare or the social or economic development of natives within their respective provinces. Regarding (b) the Governor-in-Council might, though he was not statutorily required to do so, take

the advice of local opinion on schemes under consideration by consultation with the existing representative advisory bodies, e.g. the African Provincial Councils. In the case of (c) provision was made for consultation on the uses of the fund through Provincial Development Committees, established by the Ordinance. These Committees examined in detail provincial development schemes to be financed from Native Development and Welfare funds, before they

were submitted to the Government for approval. Schemes were put up to the Provincial Development Committees by local development committees (all African) at district level; consultation with the mass of the people took place at the district level and African producers of either tobacco or cotton were found in every district in the Southern and Central Provinces and in one district of the Northern Province. (December 18.)

Trusteeship Column

INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT IN SOMALILAND

ARGUMENT for and against direct International Government is very similar to that involved over orphanages. Modern expert opinion concludes that even a moderate foster-mother is better than the best orphanage for children, because she can give immediate personal guidance and security, and direct the developing child along a definitely marked path. The impersonal and often confusing activities of an institution are not so good for the child's psychology, however noble its aims. In this respect, colonial areas are very like fast-growing orphans. (The successfully governed municipal area of Shanghai is no real comparison; and the experience of Tangiers is not so happy.)

It has been the aim of the Trusteeship system to get the best of both worlds, by providing supervised foster-mothers, on the pattern of the modern boarding-out system for orphans; Visiting Missions play the same rôle as the visiting welfare officers. Somaliland, however, is suffering from the worst of both systems, by reintroducing all the old problems of a resident nanny.

The creation of an Advisory Council to be resident in Somaliland came about because of the unique conditions of the Somaliland Trust Agreement. Since the period of Trusteeship is to last only ten years, the United Nations needed to have more continuous control over the area than is the case in other Trust areas. Moreover, the Somalis, where evident, were opposed to Italian administration even for this period. It is also possible that UNO wished to be sure that Italy would not make an attempt to reduce Somaliland to pre-war status, which would prohibit the attainment of independence in so brief a period as ten years.

The results of this form of dual administration have so far not been happy. The point at issue is not whether Italy is creating a good or bad administration in Somaliland; whether she is digging in so firmly that real control will remain in Italian hands when nominal independence is declared; or whether, having obtained control as a prestige gesture, she is letting the administration take an apathetic course. The point at issue is the totally unsettling effect of dual administration. The best of governments might find this harassing. It is easy to imagine that a permanent Visiting Mission set up in a British Colony would

soon become the centre of irresponsible dissension, and so hamstring the government that all enterprise would be stifled.

The impression in Somaliland is that the Italian administration is attempting to carry on so far as possible without the Advisory Council, while a continual stream of petitions and complaints are flowing in to that body. It is a situation which might test the abilities of the wisest and most unanimous of Councils. Unfortunately the Advisory Council is in open disagreement over its terms of reference, which are 'to aid and advise' the Administering Authority. While the Colombian and Egyptian members see their duty in terms of giving advice to the administration when asked, and no more, the Filipino member demands a more active part for the Council, and claims that under Rule 45 of its procedure, the Council may legally deal with the complaints which stream in from the populace. This must obviously be a matter for diplomatic adjustment rather than of standing upon legalities if any constructive conclusion is to be reached. But at present, as the Visiting Mission regretfully remarked, the lack of unanimity in the Council, and the frequent absence of one or more members, make its work ineffective in Somaliland. The problem of the relationship of the Council with the administration is likely to become more, not less, complicated as the years go by and the Somali territorial council obtains a larger and more responsible share in the administration of the country. It will be as if the rapid transference of power which is taking place in Nigeria and the Gold Coast were to be complicated by the presence of UNO as third party.

While it is as yet early days to say how the relationship between the Advisory Council and the Italian administration will develop, present experience would seem to indicate that it was ill-advised to set up a residential Council. An alternative might have been the attachment of a single UNO official to the Somali administration, to act as liaison officer; but better, perhaps, would have been the assurance of an annual Visiting Mission with adequate time and powers to see that the foster-mother was indeed promoting the health and development of a highly intelligent and fast-growing child.

Molly Mortimer.

COLONIAL OPINION...

Central African Federation

The following is taken from a letter submitted to Sir Godfrey Huggins by the Secretary of the Southern Rhodesia Labour Party, the only inter-racial political organisation in Southern Rhodesia.

In view of the fears and suspicions aroused by the Federal Scheme and the grave dangers involved in forcing it on unwilling Africans, we would request you to postpone federation for a number of years. During this time, if concrete measures are carried out to prove the difference between your policy and that of white supremacy, race relations should improve to such an extent that a proposal for federation would be discussed in a favourable atmosphere.

For such concrete measures to be adopted it would be necessary to prepare the ground by educating the electorate to convince them of the need and wisdom of the policy of economic and political partnership between the races. We would be unrealistic in assuming that you and your Party would be given a mandate to attempt this as the government of the country. However, should you and your Party undertake this vital task, which would mean going into opposition for a number of years, this would be the first real attempt to solve the problems of a multi-racial society. Further, we sincerely believe that it would constitute by far the most important contribution any individual or party could now make for the peace and happiness of this colony.

The following are our recommendations, which we feel, if carried out, would go a long way towards proving the good faith of European intentions of real political and economic partnership.

1. We suggest that the franchise be safeguarded on the present basis of equality. The qualifications should be modified to enable non-Europeans to have some hope of obtaining the vote in the foreseeable future. When these qualifications were amended this Party pointed out that only a few Africans could hope to qualify, and responsible Africans whom thoughtful citizens hoped would be encouraged to lead their people, such as teachers and ministers of religion, were almost totally excluded.

2. A new Trade Union Act ensuring full rights for all people should be introduced at an early date.

3. All discriminatory legislation should be revised whether it be direct or indirect.

4. More rapid provision should be made for Africans permanently resident in Southern Rhodesia to acquire their own homes on freehold tenure, either rural or urban, if they wish. Added to which they should be able to purchase their own premises for business in the urban areas.

5. Further openings should be made available for Africans in the Public Services. At present, although a formidable list can be made of these openings, in actual fact there are few other than those for messengers, orderlies and drivers. The salary scales of teachers should be revised to enable the Service to retain the best men, who are frequently drawn off into industry by the attraction of better remuneration.

6. We feel that the acceptance of the foregoing recommendations would play a real and convincing part in paving the way for a full and genuine partnership

which we most earnestly believe to be the only solution for the people of Central Africa.

Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, December 15 1952.

West Indian Federation

The London Conference on West Indian Federation will be held in April. British Honduras and British Guiana are unwilling to join. Barbados is still undecided. The following extracts from speeches made at a trade union mass meeting in Barbados in August, 1952, express the views of two West Indian Labour leaders, Mr. Marryshow of Grenada and Mr. Grantley Adams of Barbados.

'The fight for federation and freedom is won,' said Mr. Marryshow, 'but we are so chicken-hearted, our aims are so low, that we would not get up and seize them ourselves.' He urged West Indian leaders to stop all the talk about self-government and Ministerial Status, and get down to business. He said they could appeal to the pride of the English people, or failing that, go to them with an ultimatum, demanding federation and freedom which 'are already in our hands.' . . .

Mr. Adams first spoke of the march of events over the past 14 years, and went on to say that the Labour Party of Barbados and the P.N.P. of Jamaica had in their hands the destinies of the West Indies, and it was up to them to continue to work together in harmony in order that they might bring about as early as possible the hopes and aspirations that they all share—West Indian unity, West Indian Federation. He had not seen that as yet in the whole of the Caribbean area the people have shown the readiness to grasp the power which, as Mr. Marryshow had told them, was there. . . .

'If we appear to go slow on Federation, there is one reason alone—Trinidad. Trinidad is the most backward political portion of the British Caribbean area. What is the good of our fighting as we have fought in this colony to destroy the powers of the Chamber of Commerce and the Electors' Association—the Association spent thousands of pounds the election before last to defeat us, but we beat them, and again we beat them—what is the good of destroying this power only to be run by people who are merely running big businesses in Trinidad?

'We in Barbados have a better constitution than that suggested in the Rance Report.' . . .

He said that if the West Indies did not make progress the fault was no longer the British Officials' or the British Government's. As far as Colonial Governments were concerned, they would be asked, 'Will your people support you?' That was the attitude of the Colonial Office.

In Barbados they had succeeded because they had made promises to them, the people, and had kept those promises.

He said that they had to take every single island—and British Honduras, British Guiana, all of them—and preach a crusade until they got the atmosphere changed just as it had been changed by the P.N.P. in Jamaica and the Labour Party in Barbados.

'We have got to convert every colony in the West Indies to see that only socialism can pull us out, before we can say—have Federation to-morrow.'

The Beacon, Barbados, August 9, 1952.

Correspondence

Soviet Russia's Colonies

Dear Sir,—I have been interested, but frankly unimpressed, by your review of Mr. Kolarz's book—interested by the material presented, but unimpressed by the conclusions drawn. It seems to me that both Mr. Kolarz and Miss Nicholson have drawn from the facts (which I do not question) conclusions which are not justified by those facts. They seem to have lost sight of the fact that the colonising country in the Soviet Union has a Communist régime, and it is therefore only to be expected that in its former dependencies those features which we have come to regard as characteristic of that régime should be reproduced. That it is the Communist Party rather than the legislature of an autonomous republic which is the true seat of power is surely only to be expected and does not necessarily indicate any lack of independence in the territory concerned. That there should have been purges, such a deplorable feature of Communist rule, is a characteristic of the whole of the Communist world, and again should not be regarded as evidence of failure in colonisation. That the inevitable confessions included confessions of nationalism is, in the circumstances, only to be expected.

In fact, the (inevitably fairly superficial) observer gets in the autonomous republics the impression that the Revolution is regarded as the very charter of independence, and it is at least certain that the standards of life in, for example, Moscow and Tashkent do not differ very widely, nor do the standards on, for example, a kolkhoz in the Ferganah Valley differ greatly from those on a collective farm in the Ukraine. In the Central Asian territories education in the rural districts is much less extensive than in the urban, but so it is in metropolitan Russia, and at least a remarkable attempt has been made to provide education by means of peripatetic teachers who move with the tribes of nomads in these regions.

That a high percentage of representatives of the Communist Party Congress in Uzbekistan should have been Russian may well represent only the present distribution of population which has been swelled by the immigration of Russians from the West, though it may also represent the higher political maturity of these immigrants, but in any case the situation cannot be considered to be unsatisfactory to the Uzbeks, since these have still a majority in the Congress. Similarly, on account of their more extensive technical training, the directors and managers of the larger industrial undertakings are very likely to be Russian. Politically, however, though in the early days many of the commissars were Russian, most of these have now been replaced—in all of the republics which I visited—by local people.

In short the facts adduced may be a basis of criticism of Soviet Communism but do not, it seems to me, justify a condemnation of Russian policy—the Communist formula being admitted—which has raised

these territories from colonial status to that of federated Republics.

Yours faithfully,
Faringdon.

Buscot Park, Faringdon, Berkshire.

[The reviewer writes: The analysis made by Mr. Kolarz seems to me to support his conclusion that the status of an autonomous republic is in practice that of a dependency. I did not make it clear that he specifically allows for the economic achievements of the régime, but they are not the theme of his book.]

Colonial Co-operatives

Dear Sir,—Miss Margaret Digby in the November issue of *Venture* refers to the good work done by the Co-operative Societies registered under the Co-operative Societies Ordinances of various territories. No one, least of all those who are anxious to build up the confidence and effectiveness of African democratic movements, will dispute the good work that many of these societies have done for their members. It should be appreciated, however, that truly virile movements of the Africans cannot be properly developed unless they are independent of official control.

Miss Digby refers to the registered Co-operative Societies in Uganda run on 'orthodox Rochdale principles,' but it is hardly a Rochdale principle or a Co-operative ideal to allow Government servants to decide matters of policy, and indeed to be able to appoint or dismiss the Secretary of the Society and to decide the distribution of the surplus of the Society. Such has been the position with the registered societies in this territory.

Even such an authority as W. K. H. Campbell, who was formerly Registrar of Co-operative Societies in Ceylon, commented in his book *Practical Co-operation* that the model Co-operative Ordinance, which Miss Digby praises in her letter, should be scrapped. He thought that the model rules gave too much power to the Registrar and made nonsense of Co-operative principles.

Because the Federation of Uganda African Farmers Ltd. kept itself out of the official structure of Co-operative Societies, while retaining its internal co-operative democracy, it has been able to build up a powerful organisation for the whole territory and to make suggestions on policy which have achieved results helpful to African farmers, whether in societies or not. For instance, as a result of long agitation, the discrimination against African growers' coffee in favour of large-scale planters' has been changed and the African producer can now get the same price as any other producer. Sir Richard Acland suggested in his October article that changes were necessary in the Co-operative laws, and we are pleased to record that as a result of pressure these changes have now been effected. The new Co-operative Societies Ordinance which has just been passed gives Co-operative Societies the sort of independence they deserve and prevents Government servants having more than an

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Guide to Books

Hope in Africa

By C. J. M. Alport. (Herbert Jenkins, 15s.)

Mr. Alport is certainly not one of the old diehard Conservatives in his treatment of the African Empire, and his book shows how far some of the Conservative Party have moved from their traditional attitude. He accepts, for instance, the principle that race should not be a factor of selection (p. 130).

Yet Mr. Alport's book equally shows the difficulties which even comparatively enlightened Conservatives meet when they try to understand the colonial scene. Throughout this book the whites are 'we' and the blacks are 'they.' Given that attitude, unconscious perhaps, but very real, how can anyone hope to understand a situation which rests so deeply upon human emotions?

It is this approach which leads Mr. Alport to frown upon miscegenation (p. 87), without troubling to investigate its results or the biological myths surrounding it; to consider that segregation is not inimical to partnership (pp. 124-5), without ever asking himself whether a partnership is possible between two bodies who consider their differences to be so strong that they cannot live side by side; and to confuse completely the principle of trusteeship with that of partnership.

This latter point is shown most clearly in Mr. Alport's opinions on Central African federation. At one and the same time he can assert that the federal proposals are based upon the principle of partnership and that it is the duty of the British people in deciding upon the issue to act as trustees in the interests of the Africans. In other words, if the Africans accept the proposals they are partners, but if they reject them they become wards, and Britain will have to impose federation for their own good. It is this kind of attitude which the Africans rightly suspect, and so long as it exists, as is here clearly shown in the governing party of Britain, they will continue to doubt the sincerity of any attempt to get them to accept the white settlers as partners.

John Hatch.

Consumer's Co-operation in Britain

(A British Council Study Booklet.)

Susan Lawrence made the remark to me one day that there was no easily available information about the co-operative movement and asked when we were going to produce some. This was very true at the time. The movement had grown from personal contact, while those who were not attracted were not interested.

The movement has grown and has claimed adherents who have examined its theories, seen its achievements, and appreciated its values.

The British Council, having experience in explaining the British way of life to other nationals has developed a simple technique of telling the story of some part of our structure and by question and

answer bringing the idea more clearly to the mind of the student. *Consumer's Co-operation in Britain* has been dealt with in this way particularly for use in the undeveloped parts of the world where Britain has connections and responsibilities.

The booklet deals with the many phases of the movement. Looking from the home to the store, production and distribution, trade union organisation, social amenities and cultural opportunity, all of which can be enjoyed through co-operative organisation. Folk having long association with Co-operation have been invited to contribute, and the British Council have rendered a real service in the spread of sound ideas by compiling such an all-round picture in simple language. Our own history has been a slow and for many a painful experience and we are still slow to realise that the way to get the best out of life is to put the best into it, and to give the widest opportunities to all in order to realise the available capacity. By developing on co-operative lines much misery could be prevented and greater stability secured, so we are grateful to the British Council for making the knowledge simply and clearly available for those who care to use it, and would congratulate those responsible for producing the Study Box and filling it with such varied and useful information.

C. S. Ganley.

Introducing East Africa

By Mona Macmillan. (Faber and Faber. 21s.)

This is an unpretentious, rather long-winded book written by Mrs. Macmillan, the wife of Professor Macmillan. She is evidently a very conscientious and observant lady, but is not gifted with much sense of humour. In order to make quite certain that one understands her jokes, she always ends them with an exclamation mark. She looks at East Africa through the eyes of a village squire's wife—kindly, tolerant, but quite certain that all is for the best in the best of all possible worlds.

The book is full of bromides such as 'the dignity and respect due to Government House were not in the least impaired,' and 'Delamere Avenue is wide and fronted by worthy buildings and beautified by an island of flowering shrubs.' We are told that 'Kampala is a very pleasant town' and that 'there is a fine collection of butterflies in Kisumu.' But on the whole we are told very little about the tremendous social problems of East Africa.

Occasionally indeed, she does venture into rather wider fields. On page 135 she remarks, for instance, that many of the sons and daughters of Kenya settlers are leaving farming to go into Government service or technical professions, with the result that white settlement may well be found to have greatly changed in its form and emphasis. Again, later on, she remarks on how precarious is the fertility of the country as a whole and says that she feels 'that all that has

been built up might so easily disappear again and leave less than the fragments of great buildings that lie in the Arabian, Egyptian and Libyan deserts.'

She has too, some interesting comments to make on the position of African women, and says that the danger is that when the women do achieve freedom it is likely to be a freedom from all family ties. 'Our record in India,' she says, 'has been criticised by Indians for nothing so much as for our failure to initiate desirable social change, so far all we are doing for the women in Africa is to provide a few centres of higher boarding school education.' These specimens which I have picked out are, however, out of keeping with the general level of the book.

Critic.

SHORT NOTICES

Women of the Grassfields by Dr. Phyllis Kaberry. Colonial Research Publication No. 14. (H.M. Stationery Office. £1 12s. 6d.) Besides being a scholarly record of investigations amongst the women of Bamenda, British Cameroons, this account is of interest to non-specialists. Beginning with a general survey of the peoples and ecology of Bamenda, it goes on to analyse land tenure and methods of cultivation. It includes detailed charts and figures of family budgets, harvests and diets of the Tikar women of Nsaw Chieftdom. The whole book is a warning against facile judgments on the status of women (here Dr. Kaberry specifically mentions the United Nations Trusteeship Council). At the level of tribal life in a small area generalisations are, says Dr. Kaberry, 'valid, significant, and of value . . . an attempt to go beyond this, and by a species of anthropological or moral arithmetic to decide whether the position of women in general is high or low, or good or bad is, in my opinion, 'likely to prove profitless,' and 'an attempt to establish too sharp a dichotomy between the rights of the women and those of the men is, in some respects, an artificial process and one contrary, in general, to Nsaw attitudes.'

Report on Malaya by Enid Lakeman. (The McDougall Trust, 2s.) A conscientiously written account of developments in Malaya since 1945, with special stress on local and territorial franchise problems. The pamphlet includes a section on proportional representation as it would apply in Malaya.

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advisory function. This will give a far more effective chance for the Co-operative movement to be developed.

Yours faithfully,

John Stonehouse.

Federation of Uganda African Farmers Ltd.,
P.O. Box 1700, Kampala, Uganda.

[Since Mr. Stonehouse wrote, the Federation of Uganda African Farmers has applied for registration.—Ed.]

Miss Digby replies: I should like to say that there are hardly any countries, certainly not Great Britain, in which co-operatives are 'independent of official control.' The Canadian Royal Commission on Co-operatives (1945) noted that 'one of the advantages enjoyed by the British co-operative movement' was 'uniform co-operative legislation administered by a Department of the Government with special powers to scrutinise carefully new applications for incorporation, to determine what constitutes acceptable co-operative practice, and to remove from the register societies which do not adhere to generally accepted co-operative principles and practices.' It is these co-operative principles and practices which decide whether an organisation is in the true Rochdale—or the true Raiffeisen—tradition; not the degree of legal guidance which may, at different times and in different places, be needed to ensure their observance.

Mr. Stonehouse is doubtless writing without a copy of Mr. Campbell's book on *Practical Co-operation* at hand. I can find no point at which the author suggests that the model Co-operative Ordinance 'should be scrapped.' He writes on page 20, 'the Model Ordinance seems to me, in general, excellent,' and then goes on to list half-a-dozen points of detail on which he would like to see it either strengthened or relaxed. It may be worth noting that the controversial clause in the model rules (not the Ordinance), making possible, in extreme cases, the dismissal of a secretary by the Registrar, never formed part of the Uganda Ordinance.

The impression given of the Federation of Uganda African Farmers Ltd. in the Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Co-operation in Uganda (May, 1952) is not a very happy one. This was before Mr. Stonehouse took charge, and changes for the better have doubtless since been effected.

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